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ABSTRACT

This paper synthesizes literature on the topic of professions in general and the teaching profession in particular. The paper is organized into three sections. The first section emphasizes the history and fundamental aspects of professions in the United States. The second section looks specifically at the teaching profession, using fundamental aspects of professions as a framework (body of knowledge, ideal of service, autonomy, ethical codes, and a distinctive culture). The third section focuses on how these aspects might be incorporated into programs seeking to promote teacher professionalism, describes what the fundamental aspects of professionalism might look like in a program designed to emphasize them, and includes examples of teacher behaviors one might look for as evidence that new teachers have internalized the characteristics of a professional. Findings suggest that programs seeking to advance professionalism in teaching must address each of the fundamental aspects of professionalism, aspects which must then be displayed by graduates of such programs; and that teacher education programs, through training, should provide future professionals a sense of collegial togetherness and support, especially during student teaching. (LL)

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The Question of Teacher Professionalism

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The recent sweep of reform efforts involving teacher education have placed the issue of teacher professionalism at the forefront of debate (e.g., Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy, 1986; Holmes Group, 1986). Teachers, many contend, must act professionally and be trained to do so. The move toward teacher professionalism is embedded in the larger context of professions in general. This connection is not new, for as John Dewey noted in 1904: "I doubt whether we, as educators, keep in mind with sufficient constancy the fact that the problem of training teachers is one species of a more generic affair--that of training for professions" (Dewey, cited in Archambault, 1974, p.315).

As teacher preparation programs move to fulfill their mission of 'training for professions,' several questions must be addressed: What is a profession? How can we define professionalism in teaching or any other field? What are teacher educators currently doing to develop teacher professionalism? How can we know if a program is successful in its goal of enhancing teacher professionalism?

This paper attempts to synthesize the abundant literature available on the topic of professions in general, and the teaching profession in particular. The first section emphasizes the history and fundamental aspects of professions in the United States. The second section looks specifically at the teaching profession, using the same fundamental aspects of professions as a framework. In light of the first two, section three focuses on how these fundamental aspects might be incorporated into programs seeking to promote teacher professionalism.

The Professions

The word profession has been defined in various ways: "a vocation or occupation requiring advanced training in some liberal art or science, and usually involving mental rather than manual work..."(Webster's Unabridged Dictionary, 1983); "an occupation based upon specialized intellectual

study and training..."(Stinnett, 1962, p.2); and "an occupation requiring expert knowledge that justifies a monopoly of services granted by government licensing" (Spring, 1985, p. 47).

Despite many attempts, no recognized, authoritative definition of profession stands. The literature abounds, instead, with lists of characteristics, variables, and criteria used to describe an ideal profession (e.g.,Dreeben, 1970; Edmonson, 1930; Goode, 1969; Greenwood, 1957; Horton, 1944; Lam, 1983; Lieberman, 1956; Ornstein, 1979; Tyler, 1964; Weil & Weil, 1971). The contents of each list, numbering from as few as two to as many as thirteen points, contain many similarities. We can categorize these similarities into five fundamental aspects of a profession: 1) Specific body of knowledge; 2) Ideal of service; 3) Ethical codes; 4) Autonomy; and 5) Distinctive culture.

Little is recorded regarding the history of professions (Stinnett, 1962), although we do know that the idea of professions grew out of the conviction that certain services were deemed so important that everyone should have access to them (Lieberman, 1956, p.2). These important services eventually became the "classic" professions of law, medicine and theology. For centuries, the professions were under the dominance of the church. It wasn't until the end of the sixteenth century that the professions became organized and secularized (Stinnett, 1962, p. 5).

In modern times, the rise of professions in America is demonstrated by the increasing number of professionals in the workforce: from 1.9% of the total working force in 1850 to 6.4% in 1950 (Lieberman, 1956, p.8-9). During that period the scientific professions such as veterinary medicine, engineering, and dentistry experienced the greatest growth (Lieberman, 1956 p.8-9). Variations notwithstanding, all professions share the following common attributes.

Specific Body of Knowledge

Every profession represents a codified, systematic body of knowledge which is neither possessed by any other professional group nor by the general public, and which is used to help solve the problems of everyday living (Goode, 1969; Horton, 1944; Ornstein, 1981). It is the possession of

such knowledge that separates professionals from laypeople. Although the emphasis in many professions is on intellectual skills, the body of knowledge for a particular profession may also include manual skills. For example, a surgeon needs the requisite medical knowledge combined with exceptional physical dexterity to fulfill his or her professional duty.

To attain this knowledge, the professional must go through a lengthy, specialized period of training (Ornstein, 1981; Weil & Weil, 1971). The emphasis on the educational or training aspect of professions can be seen throughout the history of their development. For example, eight of the first nine colleges in America were founded for the education of a single group of professionals: ministers (Stinnett, 1962, p. 10).

The length and nature of this period of education and training is specific to each profession. However, the training must be extensive and rigorous enough to allow society to recognize professionals as experts and to "view the profession as possessing the kind of *mystery* that is not given to the ordinary man [*sic*]" (Goode, 1969, p.278). Members of several professions, such as medicine, law, and engineering possess knowledge and skills that seem out of reach to the ordinary person and illustrate the *mystery* of specific knowledge.

As a society determines that no other group possesses the specific body of knowledge that is required to provide the necessary service of a profession, that profession earns the trust of society. This trust is a crucial facet in the development of professions.

Ideal of Service

The ideal of service is an outgrowth of the original intent of professions, that of providing a needed service that only the profession can provide. The ideal encompasses both service to society at large (Horton, 1944), and service to the individual or client (Ornstein, 1979). This service involves a "devotion to the client's interests more than personal or commercial profit" (Macklin, 1981). Goode (1969) describes the ideal of service as having four components:

1) It is the practitioner who decides upon the client's needs and the occupation will be classified as less professional if the client imposes his [or her] own judgement;

2) The profession demands real sacrifice from practitioners as an ideal and, from time to time, in fact;

3) The society actually believes that the profession not only accepts these ideals but follows them to some extent; and

4) The professional community sets up a system of rewards and punishment such that "virtue pays." (p.278-279)

A further aspect of the ideal of service is the concept of a profession as a life's work (Weil & Weil, 1971). The notion of a life's work includes the tendency of professionals to stay in their professions throughout their lives (Hughes, 1969). A life's work can also be thought of as the seemingly all encompassing nature of a profession and its specific culture, to such a degree that "to the professional person his work becomes his life." (Greenwood, 1957, p.53)

Examples of the ideal of service can be taken from many professions. The doctor who, in an emergency, treats a patient on the street without hope of collecting a fee. The lawyer who represents an indigent client on a *pro bono* basis. The clergy member who administers the last rites to a parishioner in the middle of the night. The clinical psychologist who interrupts a day off to meet with a client in distress. Each of these examples portrays a professional whose work includes sacrificing personal interests for those of the client. Acts such as these are the epitome of the service ideal.

The characteristics of an ideal of service among professions describes how the members of the profession conduct themselves. Closely tied to this conduct is another fundamental aspect of the professions, ethical codes.

Ethical Codes

A profession's ethical codes serve three purposes. First, they warn members of a profession of the consequences of certain conduct. Second, they provide guidance to members during times of special difficulty or uncertainty (Langford, 1978, p. 74). Third, ethical codes enhance the public's trust in and respect for the profession by publicly acknowledging its commitment to service (Greenwood, 1957, p. 50).

Codes of ethics are specific to each profession. There are, however, certain general themes present in most ethical codes. First, the professional must keep an emotional neutrality toward the client. Second, the professional must provide services to whomever requires them, regardless of personal convenience or the client's race, age, sexual orientation, religion, etc. Finally, under all circumstances, the professional must provide the highest quality service possible (Greenwood, 1957, p. 50).

The Hippocratic Oath, taken by medical practitioners, is the most widely known ethical code. The other classic professions of law and theology both have ethical codes, as do college professors, psychologists and engineers. Most professions have organizations to which the members of the profession belong. It is the responsibility of these professional organizations to write and enforce their specific codes of ethics (Greenwood, 1957; Lieberman, 1956).

It is also to these professional organizations that members look for leadership and support as they strive for another fundamental aspect of professionalism: individual and collective autonomy.

Autonomy

Autonomy is a wide ranging, inclusive category. It provides for the profession's ability to control the entrance and conduct of its members (Horton, 1944; Ornstein, 1981); to encourage and/or require continued education (Weil & Weil, 1971); and to provide a self-governing organizational structure for its members (Liebermann, 1956). For individuals, professional autonomy provides freedom to exercise professional judgements and to assume responsibility for those judgements

(Horton, 1944; Lieberman, 1956; Weil & Weil, 1971).

Attainment of professional autonomy for a group and its individuals is an indication of society's trust in and acceptance of the profession. Thus, professional autonomy is closely linked to the three previous aspects of professionalism. True autonomy will not be realized, however, unless the public at large is convinced of the profession's superior knowledge base, its commitment to providing a service that no other profession can provide, and the profession's ability to uphold its own ethical codes (Goode, 1969).

Self-regulation is an important component of both individual and group autonomy. The specific knowledge base required for the function of the profession qualifies only those who share that knowledge base to pass judgement on the quality, conduct, and practice of the profession (Goode, 1969; Lieberman, 1956; Ornstein, 1981). Only professionals have the right to judge the competence of another professional, not the client or an outside judge (Greenwood, 1957). Self-regulation, the most visible feature of professional autonomy, is often demonstrated in the hesitation on the part of most professionals (doctors and lawyers, especially) to testify against one another during litigation.

Distinctive Culture

Every profession has its own norms, values and symbols which are usually formed around professional organizations (Greenwood, 1957). Every profession also has its own purposes for existence, purposes which are created and shared by each member of the profession. Through the sharing of these purposes, a unity is formed among the individuals which provides the structure of the profession as a whole (Langford, 1978). These norms, values, symbols, and purposes comprise the social culture of a profession.

The social culture of a profession must be learned by the neophyte if his or her career is to be successful (Greenwood, 1957, p. 53), and the purposes of the profession must become his or her own (Langford, 1978 p.18). The acculturation of a neophyte, a distinctly important function of professional

training, is typically accomplished through "test situations" that provide graduated exposure to the professional culture (Greenwood, 1957, p.54) and through university training where the "ethos of a profession is implicit in everything that is said and done" (Langford, 1978, p. 18). It is through this acculturation process that the neophyte forms the concept of a *career* as opposed to a *job*, a concept "which is peculiarly professional" (Greenwood, 1957, p.53).

The culture of a profession is also transmitted in professional preparation through a phenomenon called the "ordeal of training" (Dreeben, 1970). The rigorous and lengthy training required of most professionals serves as the basis of this ordeal, which provides certain hurdles that test not only the competence but the sheer staying power of neophytes. Grueling internships for medical doctors and the demands of classes and the bar examination for lawyers are examples of this ordeal of training. Surviving such rigors requires future professionals to work together and results in an "all for one" feeling among new entrants. This bonding forms an identity for the members of the profession; they have all survived to become "one of them"--a crucial self-perception in the development of the cultural identity of a profession.

Teaching

The above overview portrays aspects fundamental to an ideal profession, though each profession will embody these aspects in differing degrees. When analyzing professions in general, it is helpful to view professions on a continuum. Certain professions, such as law, medicine, and science, are considered undisputed professions in that each personifies the fundamental aspects of a profession to a high degree. Others display the same fundamental aspects of a profession, but to a lesser degree. Social work and librarianship, for example, are generally considered professions, albeit "lesser" ones (Greenwood, 1957, p. 46).

Where on this professional continuum does teaching lie? Much of the literature on the

profession of teaching has unsuccessfully sought to answer this question (e.g., Baisler, 1945; Cogan, 1953; Lieberman, 1956; Ornstein, 1979; Phillips, 1946; Pullias, 1940; Tyler, 1964; Sockett, 1989; Stinnett, 1962; Vick, 1947). Rather than attempt to propose an answer, we will take a look at teaching in light of the previously discussed five aspects of an ideal profession.

Specific Body of Knowledge

The existence of a codified body or bodies of knowledge for teaching is a hotly contested issue in education. The literature is rife with differing views on this question (e.g., Beyer, Feinberg, Pagano & Whitson, 1989; Carter, 1989; Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986; Grossman, Wilson & Shulman, 1989; Lortie, 1975; Ornstein, 1981; Shulman, 1987; Sockett, 1989; Spring, 1985; Tom & Valli, 1990). Much of the debate over the knowledge base for teaching revolves around the debate over the fundamental question of what constitutes knowledge in the first place.

One school of thought views teaching knowledge as scientifically based, law-like generalizations (Tom & Valli, 1990). This conception has lead to an emphasis upon the technical skills needed to teach (Beyer, et al., 1989; Lortie, 1975). A second school of thought sees teaching knowledge as being practical and site-specific, the purpose of which is to "inform wise action--not to advance general understanding" (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986, p. 513). Knowledge of this sort emphasizes knowledge of self, students, and the specific contexts in which the teacher works.

Despite this epistemological disagreement, a survey of the literature does portray general agreement on at least two points. First, teaching is acknowledged to be a complex, multi-dimensional act which calls on many different types of knowledge, actions, behaviors, and decision making abilities (e.g., Ayers, 1990; Barnes, 1989; Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986; Florio-Ruane, 1989; Spring, 1985). Second, in response to this complexity, teachers must have an understanding of both subject matter and pedagogy as well as the intricate relationships between them (e.g., Beyer et al., 1989; Dreeben, 1970; Grossman, Wilson & Shulman, 1989; Howsam, Corrigan, Denemark & Nash, 1976; Macklin,

1981; McDiarmid, Ball & Anderson, 1989; Shulman, 1987; Tamir, 1988). These two areas combine to form what is broadly thought of as the knowledge base of teaching.

The transmission of subject matter knowledge to students is generally considered to be a primary focus of teaching. Hence, the importance of a teacher's need for a firm grasp of the subject areas is obvious. Specific subject matter knowledge represents the established disciplines, such as mathematics, science, English, and the social sciences. Successful teaching requires a thorough understanding of the subject matter, which includes the ability to see the connections that exist between the various disciplines. This ability enables teachers to understand "how a subject matter can be useful to students in discovering personal levels of meaning, and how students can translate this meaning into humane daily action" (Howsam et al., 1976, p. 85). The extent to which a teacher is familiar with the content of the disciplines and understands the structures inherent within them impacts the teachers' professional decision making ability (Grossman et al., 1989).

Pedagogical knowledge is a broad term which includes both general pedagogy and subject matter pedagogy (e.g., Carter, 1989; Shulman, 1987; Tamir; 1988). General pedagogical knowledge includes the techniques, skills and behaviors useful in various contexts, regardless of the specific content being taught. Sockett (1989) gives examples of what he terms "a common-sense classification of teaching knowledge" that, in part, makes up the general pedagogical knowledge of teachers: management of pupil learning, individually and in groups; pedagogic skills, such as demonstrating a method or telling a story; and an understanding of the context in which the teacher works (p.102).

Within general pedagogical knowledge we find a more complex way of knowing called practical knowledge (Carter, 1990; Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986; Lieberman & Miller, 1984). Practical knowledge is a personal knowledge, one that incorporates knowledge of the social structure of the classroom, the roles that various participants play within the classroom, and the impact that these aspects of schooling have on the learning process (Carter, 1990; Feiman-Nemser & Floden,

1986).

Subject matter pedagogical knowledge refers to a more formal type of knowledge, the foundation of which rests in the disciplines (Carter, 1990). This type of knowing combines knowledge of subject matter with knowledge of learners and entails a "weaving together [of] ideas about how people learn and knowledge about particular pupils with a thorough understanding of the subject in ways that respect the integrity of each" (McDiarmid et al., 1989, p. 194).

Many teaching strategies work well in various disciplines. For example, analogies and metaphors are effective in literature, science, mathematics, and history. The forms they take, however, differ, depending upon the subject matter being considered (McDiarmid et al., 1989). Judging the appropriateness of different pedagogical techniques to specific subject matter requires the combination of subject matter knowledge and pedagogical knowledge. This intersection forms the basis of subject matter pedagogical knowledge.

The specific body of knowledge held by a profession must be learned by its members. The knowledge base of teaching, while contentious, is no exception. The typical teacher education program incorporates the various types of knowing that make up the knowledge base for teaching into three basic components of teacher preparation: general knowledge, professional content knowledge, and clinical knowledge (Tom & Valli, 1990; Spring, 1985; Ward, 1978).

The general education component of teaching usually consists of a broad liberal arts foundation coupled with education in the disciplines that form the theoretical base of teaching (e.g., psychology, sociology, anthropology, and philosophy) and a concentration in an academic specialization. The growing importance of subject matter knowledge creates increasing apprehension over teacher education's reliance upon general education to provide this aspect of the knowledge base (e.g., Grossman et al., 1989; Spring, 1985). Anxiety over the lack of uniformity in what is taught within the disciplines and questions about the thoroughness of discipline-specific instruction are two

examples of this concern (Grossman et al., 1989).

Professional knowledge is that component of teacher education which begins after much of the general education component is complete and presents would be teachers with varying sorts and amounts of pedagogical knowledge. Attention to general pedagogical and practical knowledge is found in courses reflecting the foundations of education (educational psychology, school and society, etc.), while subject matter pedagogical knowledge is represented through "methods" courses.

The third component of professional training represents clinical knowledge. Most programs require students to spend many hours in actual school classrooms seeing and eventually performing the work of teaching professionals. This program component allows future teachers the opportunity to learn, from seasoned professionals, how to put professional theory into practice (Wise, 1989).

Ideal of Service

The health and status of a profession depend upon the perceptions of the society in which it operates. If the society trusts the profession, its work will be honored and its members respected; if the society does not trust the profession, its status erodes. The ideal of service plays a crucial role here by assuring society that the profession is committed to providing a necessary and valuable service to individual clients as well as to society at large.

The teaching profession has come under heavy attack recently for its perceived lack of commitment to its clients (students). In the 1950's, teachers were regarded as being concerned with the welfare of their students, highly altruistic, and very committed to their work (Lieberman, 1956). In the 1960's, with the trend toward teacher activism, this perception began to change. As the number of teacher strikes grew, tension between teachers and the public increased (Ornstein, 1979; Sockett, 1989). This tension has remained, and teacher unions have recently begun addressing the problem. Albert Shanker (1985), president of the American Federation of Teachers, characterized the predicament this way:

> We tend to be viewed today as though we are acting only in our own self-interest....that image is standing in the way of our achieving professional status, for not only must we act on behalf of our clients, we also must be perceived as acting that way (p.15).

The overall social value of the teaching profession to society at large is recurringly in doubt. Lortie (1969) illustrates the issue this way: "'No one ever died of a split infinitive' is a quip that throws the less-than-vital nature of teaching knowledge into relief" (p. 24). Evidence of this phenomenon abounds. After working to slowly increase the amount of formal education required of teachers over the last 50 years, many states are currently decreasing requirements for professional knowledge and hiring persons to teach who have little or none. The growth in "home schooling," the increase in private schools (many of which do not hire certified teachers), and the expanding loss of hope in our urban schools all suggest the public's dissatisfaction with teaching's service ideal. To counter this lack of perceived social need for the teaching profession, Pullias (1940) called for a corrective mechanism most familiar to teachers: education. As he noted more than half a century ago, teaching will be considered a profession and "education [will] be adequately and willingly supported when and *only* when, it produces a society that understands and appreciates its function and worth" (Pullias, 1940, p.268). It is the responsibility of all professions to educate and, when necessary, re-educate society to this importance. Teaching, though in a unique position to do this, has its problems here.

The ideal of service encompasses not only commitment to the individual and society, but also the professional's commitment to the profession as a life's work. This aspect of service has also undergone changes in past decades.

The profession of teaching has historically been viewed as one with a high turnover rate. For

many women, teaching seemed to be a stop-over before marrying and having children (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986). In the traditional view of professions, this turnover was equated with a lack of commitment on the part of teachers to their work. Recently, this attitude has been changing. Using feminist scholarship and its related paradigm, women are found to be no less committed to their work than men (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986). The difference lies in perceptions. Many women see motherhood as an extension of teaching, and stay in touch with the field through continued education and professional workshops until they return to the classroom. The length of stay out of the classroom is also being reduced because of economic considerations, a fact which will most likely reduce the negative perceptions of teachers as less committed to the profession.

Finally, we can find certain moral implications of the ideal of service that are unique to the teaching profession. Teaching transcends the simple provision of a service to a client, having at its core, "the moral obligation which extends to a responsibility for a person developing to full human moral agency" (Sockett, 1989,p.100). The teaching profession must be recognized, respected and trusted by society to fulfill this responsibility. Yet society's negative perceptions of teachers and their profession limit its degree of trust in teaching's service ideal.

Code of Ethics

A code of ethics for the teaching profession was first developed by its largest professional organization, the National Education Association. First adopted in 1929 (Lieberman, 1956), the code was last revised in 1975 (Smith, Travers, and Yard, 1990). However, in the period since 1959, the code has been enforced (teachers either being expelled from or censured by the NEA) less than ten times (Rich, 1986, pp.22). Currently, the code consists of two principles: commitment to the student and commitment to the profession.

The first principle, commitment to the student, provides eight specific directives for fulfilling the job of the educator to "help each student realize his or her potential as a worthy and effective

member of society." These directives focus mainly on the fair and equal treatment of all students. In the second principle, commitment to the profession, eight more directives combine to help the teacher uphold the "highest ideals of professional service" (Smith et al., 1990). Commitment to the profession is concerned with maintaining the integrity of the teaching profession by not knowingly misrepresenting qualifications or being a party to such misrepresentation.

A survey of the literature shows little discourse concerning the NEA Code of Ethics specifically, but the broader issue of ethics in education has received increased attention recently. Much of the literature relates to the preparation (or lack thereof) that most future teachers receive in ethics and portrays the ethical dimension of teaching as being wide reaching and complicated (e.g., Rich, 1985; Sockett, 1990; Strike, 1990a, 1990b; Strom, 1989). Issues that call upon ethical judgement are common to the classroom, the school context, and the community. Matters such as fairness in grading, discipline, and testing; questions of faculty dissent and strikes; and relations with parents are but a few examples of the many ethical considerations of teachers (Sockett, 1990; Strike, 1990b).

A recurring theme throughout the literature on ethics for teaching stresses that adherence to a code of ethics is not enough, as "ethical behavior is more complex than following the rules of a code; it involves learning to think, act, and acquire the attitudes of a professional teacher and to be guided by one's own philosophy of education" (Rich, 1986, pp.22). Thus, the issue of ethics is not only one for professional consideration, but one that involves the behaviors and morals of every individual teacher.

Autonomy

Possibly the most critical aspect of teacher professionalism is the need for group and individual autonomy. Autonomy can be defined as "the freedom and ability to implement the theoretical knowledge and technical know-how one has learned in his [or her] years of training prior to entry into the profession" (McPeck & Sanders, cited in Macklin, 1981, p. 27). Autonomy is critical to

teacher professionalism because "professional teachers teach professionally, the way good teachers have always taught *when allowed to do so*" [italics added] (Wise, 1989). It is professional autonomy which allows them to do so.

Teacher autonomy encompasses most aspects of teaching and is manifested through both group or national autonomy, and individual or local autonomy. Lieberman (1956) lists nine aspects of education that can be categorized according to these two kinds of autonomy. Those considered elements of group or national autonomy involve decisions concerning the qualifications for entrance into teacher training; the length and content of the teacher training program; the standards for entry into and expulsion from teaching; the standards of professional conduct and the power to judge if and when practitioners have violated these standards; and who should lead the profession and speak for it on matters of broad professional concern. Elements of individual or local autonomy involve decisions concerning the subjects to be taught and the materials to be used in teaching them; the criteria to be used in deciding who should be admitted, retained and graduated at all levels; the forms to be used in reporting pupil progress and school boundary lines; and the criteria for permitting students to attend schools outside the boundary lines (p.91).

A primary vehicle through which teachers exercise their collective professional autonomy is participation in self-governing and self-regulating professional organizations. The professional organizations most responsible to teachers are the National Education Association (NEA) and the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) (Ornstein, 1979). Although these organizations are designed to work for teachers' interests they have had little to do with the kinds of decisions noted above regarding the profession's standards. Such inattention suggests why the need for strong professional organizations which would control the certification requirements and education of future members of the teaching profession continues to be discussed in the literature (e.g., Baisler, 1945; Lieberman, 1956; Stinnett, 1962). In recent years, the desire to professionalize teaching has provided additional

impetus for seeking collective professional autonomy in these areas (e.g., Shanker, 1985; Spring, 1985; Ornstein, 1981).

Individual or local teacher autonomy has focused primarily on the freedom of teachers to make decisions on matters which directly affect them. This element of autonomy is demonstrated by the desire for shared decision making regarding choice of curriculum (Cattell, 1932; Wise, 1989); choice of teaching methods (Wise, 1989); and the right of teachers to judge their own achievement as well as that of their students' (Ornstein, 1981; Wise, 1990). Wise (1989) suggests the following characteristics to describe a professional teacher:

> Professional teachers have a firm grasp of the subjects they teach and are true to the demands of their disciplines. They are able to analyze the needs of the students for whom they are responsible. They know the standards of practice of their profession. They know they are accountable for meeting the needs of their students...they are compelled to teach with intellectual honesty and practical foresight (p. 305).

Like group autonomy, teaching has not yet succeeded in gaining much local autonomy as a profession. Many teaching decisions are made by others (administrators, textbook publishers, state policymakers, etc.) or heavily influenced by others' decisions (school boards, state legislators, etc.).

Distinctive Culture

A culture consists of norms, values, symbols, and rituals shared by members of a group. Despite the diversity among teachers and their schools, most teachers can identify many common aspects of teaching which form the framework for a distinctive culture of teaching. The school-based aspects of this framework include beliefs regarding the norms for appropriate interactions with students, other teachers, and the principal (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986). Another aspect of this framework contains larger societal factors which affect the culture of teaching, such as the effects of the feminization of teaching (Beyer et al., 1989; Erdman, 1990; Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986). A

final contributor to a distinctive culture of teaching is the shared way in which teachers learn the norms, values, symbols, and rituals of their profession.

A teacher's relationship with students is fraught with contradictions. For example, the teacher must be the authority figure in the classroom and maintain classroom control (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986; Lieberman & Miller, 1984; Sarason, 1971). To do this, it is commonly believed that the teacher must create a distance between himself or herself and the students. This distance, however, contradicts the teacher's other major responsibility-- that of forming close, personal bonds with students to motivate their learning (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986; Jackson, 1968; Lortie, 1975; Sarason, 1971). How this dilemma is resolved by individual teachers, and the school-wide norms regarding the appropriate balance between these responsibilities, represent aspects of the culture of teaching.

Teaching is often characterized by a feeling of aloneness. Teachers spend the majority of their time with children, allowing very little contact with their colleagues. For many, the classroom is their "world," one which only the teacher and the students share (Lieberman & Miller, 1984). The time that teachers do have with their colleagues is often used to discuss personal matters rather than sharing professional questions, concerns, or triumphs (e.g. Dreeben, 1970; Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986; Lieberman & Miller, 1984; Lortie, 1975; Sockett, 1989; Zeichner & Gore, 1990). Asking for advice is often seen as admitting failure and offering advice as being pushy (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986; Lortie, 1975). This "norm of silence" and tendency toward isolation represent additional aspects of teaching's professional culture.

Teachers' relationships with the principal are often filled with conflicting expectations. Teachers look to the principal for support in classroom discipline, instructional initiatives, and relations with parents (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986; Lieberman & Miller, 1984; Mclaughlin, Pfeifer, Swanson-Owens & Yee, 1986), while at the same time seeking autonomy, especially in areas

pertaining to choice of curriculum and instructional materials (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986). The extent to which these conflicting expectations are realized and the manner in which a balance is achieved add to the norms and values of the culture of teaching.

Many of the rituals of teaching are embedded in the day-to-day realities of school life (Lieberman & Miller, 1984). These are the daily, weekly, or yearly activities and events that provide structure and routinization within the culture. Rituals of the culture of teaching can be as modest as beginning each day with announcements or attending weekly meetings, or as complex as end-of-the-year staffing assignments, field trips, or closing assemblies. Sarason (1971) refers to these rituals as *existing regularities,* rituals of teaching that have become taken for granted, the original rationale long ago lost in the folklore of the culture. Rituals are important as they help to maintain the norms and values of the culture.

Teaching does not occur in a vacuum; the norms, values and myths that are pervasive in society at large are necessarily a part of the teaching culture. Because most teachers are women, the impact on the teaching culture of society's attitudes regarding women must be considered. These attitudes, which tend to undervalue women as competent, able decision-makers, directly impact teachers personally and professionally. For example, women who pause from teaching to have families are often seen as less committed to their careers than their male counterparts. Women are generally assumed to be more "fitted" for teaching because of the occupation's emphasis on nurturance, care, and intuition--characteristics typically attributed to women but not highly valued by society. Finally, the view of teaching as "women's work" is blamed, in part, for the low status and low pay of teaching (Erdman, 1990; Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986).

A teacher learns the norms of the profession in many ways. The acculturation of new teachers occurs, in part, because education is cyclical, with former students becoming teachers. Many of the norms, values, behaviors, and myths of teaching are learned long before one decides to become a

teacher (e.g., Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986; Florio-Ruane, 1989; Lortie, 1975; Ost, 1988, 1989; Zeichner & Gore, 1990). Thus, the socialization of teachers begins years before a student reaches his or her "professional" teacher preparation. Lortie (1975) describes this unique phenomenon as an "apprenticeship of observation" through which students begin defining the various norms and myths associated with the roles of teacher and student, some actually imagining what it would be like to be the teacher. Few, however, are able to move past the perspective of student to see the "other side" of teaching (Florio-Ruane, 1989). The result is a one-sided conception of the culture of teaching.

The effect of teacher preparation programs on these conceptions of the teaching culture is unclear. The assumption has been that the foundations and methods courses (professional knowledge) taken in college are of little value or importance in the eyes of new teachers (Dreeben, 1970; Lieberman & Miller, 1984; Lortie, 1975; Zeichner & Gore, 1990). However, according to Zeichner & Gore (1990), research has recently begun challenging this assumption.

Numerous studies have focused on the hidden curriculum of teacher education programs. This hidden curriculum consists of subtle messages that contrast with the explicit curriculum of a course or program and are conveyed though various mediums such as language, modeling, and emphasizing certain issues while ignoring others. Ginsberg & Clift (1990) list examples of messages sent to preservice teachers through this hidden curriculum, such as issues regarding the status and power of teachers; the undervaluing of teacher knowledge and decision-making; and the covering up of race, class and gender issues. The effects of such messages on teachers' conceptions of teaching and the norms, values, symbols, and rituals of the teaching culture help to complicate the case for teaching as a profession.

Finally, teacher preparation programs have an impact on the formation of a culture of teaching through their attempts to provide an ordeal of training. The training teachers receive is often seen as lacking the rigors needed to produce difficult "hurdles" to be cleared. Clearing such hurdles provides

members of a profession with an identity built upon a common, shared experience. The overall lack of ordeal in the training of teachers seems to reinforce the development of an individual, rather than a group identity (Dreeben, 1970; Lortie, 1975), thus strengthening the sense of isolation felt by many teachers. "Student teaching" (clinical knowledge), where such an ordeal does exist, is seen by most new teachers as the most valuable aspect of their preparation (Lortie, 1975). Yet in most cases, this experience remains highly individualistic in every respect (Dreeben, 1970; Lortie, 1975).

The Profession of Teaching

As a profession, teaching is a difficult career to categorize. Using the fundamental aspects of professions as a framework, we find disagreement over the clear existence of such aspects as a specialized body of knowledge, autonomy, and distinctive culture. This state of affairs allows us to better understand why the placement of teaching into the elite category of profession is an issue of intense debate, both within the field and the society at large.

The debate over the professionalization of teaching has lead to the questioning of some fundamental issues embedded in the concept of professions. Ayers (1990), for example, questions the assumption that the professionalization of teaching ought to be sought. Teaching is a special undertaking; at its heart it should be compassionate, inclusive, and democratic, qualities which conflict with the traditional belief that professionals must keep an emotional or "professional" distance from the client and that the professional knows best (Ayers, 1990, p.3). Because this stance sets the professional above and beyond his or her client, the push for the professionalization of teaching requires teachers to reconcile this dichotomous relationship or risk losing sight of the special qualities that good teaching requires.

The very concept of professionalism is problematic in additional ways. At its most fundamental level, this concept reinforces the hierarchical stratification of society (Beyer et al., 1989;

Ginsberg, 1988; Glazer, 1990; Soder, 1990). Social stratification produces status distinctions between people, and though not responsible for producing this status stratification, the concept of professionalism serves to perpetuate it. For example, Ginsberg (1988) points to the differentiation of manual occupations versus mental or *professional* occupations. The implication is that a job which relies on manual labor is less professional (and therefore less important or worthwhile) than one which relies on intellect. Ironically, such elitism is even evident in the language used to stratify occupations as "pure" professions or "semi" professions (Etzioni, 1969).

Recent work in feminist scholarship has further challenged the concept of professionalism with the argument that professions are founded on patriarchal conceptions of career, status, and success (Beyer et al., 1988; Erdman, 1990; Glazer, 1990). The often subordinated role of women in the professions is exemplified by the fact that many careers considered lesser or semi-professions (nursing, social work, librarianship, and teaching) are comprised mostly of women. In contrast, those held up as model professions (medicine and law) are comprised mostly of men.

Before moving on to consider how teacher preparation programs can enhance professional development in preservice teachers, one further caveat must be noted. As previously mentioned, the literature on professions abounds with lists of traits, characteristics, and categories used to define or describe a profession. While such lists may be analytically helpful (for an argument against this approach see Ginsberg, 1988), their usefulness is limited. The nature of professions is such that they are fluid, evolving, and subject to change and interpretation. In this sense, it is erroneous to view certain behaviors or traits as evidence in support of one aspect of professionalism (e.g., Ideal of Service), while ignoring the importance of these same traits to other aspects (e.g., Codes of Ethics, Distinctive Culture, etc.). The lines between such aspects are not distinctive.

Preparing Professional Teachers

Despite the flaws of defining and analyzing professions in general, and the profession of teaching in particular, the continued study of professions remains meaningful, for through such study and its resulting debate we can hope to maintain and improve the *inherent social value* of any work desired to be seen as professional. An important question to pose in the preparation of teaching professionals (like all others) is how we might look at or judge the extent to which someone who undergoes a teacher preparation program actually learns, internalizes and/or exhibits the various aspects of professionalism. Put differently, how can we evaluate the success of teacher preparation programs and their efforts to engender characteristics of professionalism in future teachers?

Responding to this question requires an examination of both practicing teachers and the programs in which they were prepared. Programs which seek to advance professionalism in teaching must address each of the fundamental aspects of professionalism, aspects which must then be displayed by graduates of such programs.

Issues related to the fundamental aspects of professionalism should be discussed openly and honestly with future teachers. This emphasis on professionalism should not simply add further "pieces" to a program. Rather, the ideal of teachers as professionals should permeate the entire program, through both the overt and hidden curriculums. The fundamental aspects of professionalism would take various forms within a teacher preparation program, depending upon its structure, size, and core objectives. The following section describes what the fundamental aspects of professionalism might look like in a program designed to emphasize them and includes examples of teacher behaviors one might look for as evidence that new teachers have indeed internalized the characteristics of teacher professionalism.

Specific Body of Knowledge

Professional teachers know that teaching is a very complex undertaking that requires the use of

many different types of knowledge. They are able to draw from the existing body of knowledge the information and techniques appropriate to their situation and students. Professional teachers make informed and defensible decisions about formal, "professional" knowledge and, in turn, use such knowledge to guide their classroom practice. Through professional journals and conferences, these teachers stay informed of the current issues that face the profession. In short, professional teachers know how to think about teaching and how to use the existing body of knowledge to construct their own knowledge bases for teaching.

A teacher preparation program cannot possibly provide future teachers with all the knowledge they will need; the knowledge is too broad and the teaching situations too specific. The best a program can do is to familiarize its students with the extensive body of knowledge in its many forms while encouraging them to further discover, analyze, and use this knowledge in their practice. Thus, a teacher preparation program which has as its goal the professional development of students can not rely on simply teaching about techniques and recipes. A survey of those methods and techniques found generally successful in the classroom is useful, but must not be the primary emphasis of a program. Recent thinking and formal inquiry must also be examined and discussed.

Professional journals, both general and subject specific, should be utilized at various levels of a preparation program to encourage professional development. As an introduction to teaching, journal articles can serve as a way to explore the myriad of topics, issues, and trends in the teaching field. During the professional knowledge component of the program, professional journals can serve as a vehicle to examine inquiry and research methods, stressing the need to critique each new "discovery." Throughout the program, future teachers should be encouraged to see professional journals as one important source of information for professional practitioners as well as one important avenue for communication among professionals.

Ideal of Service

Professional teachers believe strongly in the ideal of service of teaching. They are confident in the social value of their work, and they strive to educate the community to the importance of teaching. Professional teachers show a commitment to their students and their profession by seeking to improve their teaching through continuing education and by working to develop positive relationships with all those involved in the educational process.

Teaching in today's society poses a host of questions that must be addressed by all teachers. Questions such as what are the social, political, and moral implications of teaching? What is the social value of teaching? How can teachers best serve students, community, and society? Questions such as these should be asked of future teachers during the entire duration of their preparation program, and future teachers should be encouraged to answer these questions for themselves, through genuine conversation with parents, students, and educators at all levels. Such conversations could be enhanced by students reading the works of various educators who have addressed such questions in the past as well as today. No teacher can be called truly professional unless this service ideal is recognized and deeply understood.

At the same time, the teaching profession must also serve its members. And while the ideal of service emphasizes an unselfish service to individuals and society, teachers' unions, on the other hand, will continue their work to improve pay, benefits, and working conditions for teachers. The obvious contradictions between these two aspects of professionalism must be addressed by future teachers. Most teachers will, at some point in their professional careers, be faced with difficult questions and dilemmas resulting from inherent tensions between service to self and to others. Preparation programs do teachers and society a great disservice when they choose to ignore such tensions in the preparation of future teachers.

Ethical Codes

Professional teachers are guided in their conduct by both professional and personal ethical standards. They recognize the many ethical dilemmas posed by teaching and meet them with confidence and defensible reasoning. Professional teachers frame decisions in ethical terms and make such decisions based on externally and internally derived codes of ethics.

A program which is responsible for preparing future teachers is obligated to make every effort to develop strong ethical standards in its students. This is necessary to protect the students with whom the future teachers will work as well as to strengthen the profession as a whole. Developing strong ethical standards among students must combine several aspects of ethics and philosophy.

Future teachers must first be introduced to the NEA Code of Ethics as well as any local codes that may exist. These codes should be analyzed and critiqued by the students. The need for a code of ethics for the teaching profession and/or what should be included in or removed from existing codes should be also be debated. Reflection upon such issues can lead to a deeper consideration of one's personal ethics in general, a consideration that is necessary to the professional development of ethical standards. Rather than simply teaching about the current codes of ethics, future teachers must be challenged to understand the importance of ethical behavior in teachers, and further, to define and exemplify ethical behavior in their own lives. Case studies that depict ethical dilemmas of teaching such as cheating by a student or teachers helping students on standardized tests could be used to facilitate discussion about how an ethical teacher might approach and resolve such problems.

A related aspect to ethics in teaching involves the need for future teachers to develop a strong philosophy of education. A teacher's philosophy greatly impacts his or her attitudes and actions towards students, colleagues, and parents. In light of this, all teachers need to know what they believe and why, and need to be able to critique these positions. Although a teacher's philosophy of education evolves over years of thought and experience, this evolutionary process must receive attention during

teacher preparation and be nurtured throughout the program. Future teachers should be asked to articulate a philosophy and then, with the assistance of experienced educators, seek to reflect and further refine that philosophy in their classroom experiences. In this way, new teachers will begin with a conscious, if not explicit, philosophical foundation to their work in the classroom.

Autonomy

Professional teachers are capable of operating autonomously. Locally, they make informed, deliberate decisions regarding curriculum, textbook selection, discipline procedures, and scheduling. Nationally, professional teachers work with unions, professional organizations, and policy makers to contribute to the enhancement of their work. While many teachers are not given the opportunity to act with autonomy, professional teachers strive to achieve such autonomy and are willing and able to work autonomously when allowed to do so.

Individual/Local Autonomy

A teacher preparation program that is designed to prepare teachers for individual autonomy must first make future teachers aware of the importance of such autonomy by helping them to see the disempowering aspects of many teaching situations, challenging them to discover ways to affect the status quo. As future teachers critique the current schooling situation they must also feel prepared to face the challenges that change may produce. With autonomy comes responsibility, and future teachers should be helped to feel ready to accept professional responsibilities.

Asking teachers to make decisions and accept concomitant responsibilities is unfair if they have never before been given the opportunity to do so. Therefore, a teacher preparation program should encourage students to become involved making decisions regarding the curriculum, structure, and emphasis of their own teacher preparation journey. In doing so, future teachers will gain needed decision making experience, learn to accept responsibility for their own future, and experience, first hand, the benefits of autonomy.

Group/National Autonomy

The primary vehicle for attaining professional group autonomy is through unions and strong professional organizations. Teacher preparation programs should, therefore, encourage each of its graduates to become members of both. Programs should arrange for future teachers to meet with representatives of the major teachers' unions (NEA and AFT) and representatives of professional organizations like the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development and various discipline-specific organizations such as the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics to discuss current issues and concerns of the profession.

Teachers' unions have historically focused on economic issues such as salary, reimbursement for continuing education, and tenure while offering very little direct leadership in the specific areas of teacher empowerment and teacher autonomy. Large professional organizations, while working diligently to meet variously articulated needs of their members have also managed little attention or success in promoting overall professional autonomy for classroom teachers. Teachers who were prepared in programs that stressed the importance of professional autonomy, and who understand the potential of professional organizations and unions in helping to ensure such autonomy, should then work within their unions and professional organizations to provide leadership in these vital areas. It is the responsibility of teacher preparation programs to foster such activism in its graduates.

Distinctive Culture

Professional teachers know the culture in which they teach. They are able to identify profession-wide and site-specific norms, values, and beliefs. Professional teachers are able to analyze and critique the culture of teaching, and are able to make thoughtful decisions regarding their role in the development and perpetuation of that culture.

Before teachers can begin to analyze and critique the culture of teaching, they must first be made aware of its existence. The common aspects of the culture of teaching (e.g., the role of women

and the low status of teachers; relationships with students, colleagues, and parents; race and gender issues) should be identified and explained. The effects of this culture on teachers and students should be explored by future teachers. A teacher preparation program which introduces its students to the culture of teaching should also provide opportunities for future teachers to uncover their own conceptions, assumptions, and biases toward teaching. They must be made aware of how these long held, often unconscious, beliefs influence their teaching.

Teacher preparation programs, through the ordeal of training, should provide future professionals with the sense of collegial togetherness and support that is lacking in the culture of teaching. This should be done throughout the program, but is especially important during student teaching. Student teaching asks students to face the dilemmas of teaching for the first time. For many, this is a scary and confusing time and support is critical. Student teachers should be given a forum in which to share their concerns with their colleagues and to work together to find solutions to their problems. These are the attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors that professional teachers will need in order to overcome the isolation of teaching, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors that must be fostered and supported during teacher preparation.

Throughout the study of the culture of teaching, future teachers should be encouraged to move beyond viewing the culture as taken-for-granted. The profession-wide culture and each specific school culture is made up of individuals who create the culture of teaching, and who can change the culture of teaching. As teachers become aware of the culture in which they work, they must decide whether they will help to perpetuate that culture or work to change it in some way. If the goal is to develop a healthy, vibrant, and progressive profession, it is imperative that teacher preparation programs emphasize to students the changeable, fluid nature of the profession and the effect each teacher can have on it.

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